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is known by the way in which the *lani* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats, cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vananga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua,[1] e to tau[1] lulu ki te vananga a te pule ko avatu ki a kolua ia. I a kolua, awe tuku kolua i a kolua tama ke wakatekateka wua i te motu. Ke pukea maua i loto, e vayi loa, ngalepelepe. No i ai na aumai ia te vananga ke longo kolua talinga. Wakamamalu kolua wakalelei. Ko te vananga ia na aumai ai ki a kolua. Tangi ai loa la te manu ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotawa* fern to use as fertilizer for village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

[1] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *kotou, taiou*. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

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The sizes of the talo tubers are: *piki* (small corms), *vavenga* (slightly larger corms), *vaivai nuiva* (still larger corms), *ulupoko* (very big corms), and *punia* (enormous ones, as big as *pulaka* corms and no longer good for eating).

A good commentary on the cultivation of talo is found in the first section of the chant, "Maka te kupu ki te tonoanga", in praise of a woman's skill at talo growing (1).

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Gifts

Much of the produce of labor is used for immediate consumption by the worker and his household. The talo harvested by the women of the household, the mats they plait, the fish and nuts produced by the men, the house that is built by a man, are all consumed by the household group. Some of the wealth of the household—whether food or more durable articles such as pearl-shell fishhooks and ornaments—is distributed through the gift exchange or as payment to workers who are producing other objects of value for the household. Another part of this wealth is distributed through the feasts that mark crises in the lives of the individual members of the group.

Most gifts require a reciprocal gift of equivalent value. When members of one household have more than they can immediately consume they give staple articles such as food, fish, talo and nuts to relatives and friends, but only on the assumption that everyone in the community is following the same social principle and that the gift will be reciprocated at some later occasion when the recipients are well provided with food. One widow and her young children are frequently given gifts of food, fish especially, by relatives and neighbors without, I think, any feeling that the widow should or could reciprocate. The villagers are sorry for her plight and give out of pity and neighborly feelings. Gifts to transient visitors on the island are made freely and without thought of return; the tradition of hospitality requires the expression of friendship through the making of gifts. Gifts to more permanent visitors are made within terms of the implicit system of gift exchange, but insofar as the givers are many and the recipients are few, the return gift is not expected to equal the value of the first gift. The return gift in this case merely symbolizes the completion of the transaction, and honor is satisfied on both sides.

Various types of gifts are named according to the way they enter into the system of exchange:

The word *taungaloa* is applied to a family heirloom, a pearl-shell ornament for instance, an appropriate gift to a living person. *Taungaloa* is also a gift of remembrance when two friends part from each other. Such a gift is referred to metaphori-

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cally as *muli tuluma* "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the bottom of the *tuluma* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *taungaloa*. *Wutonga* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tapu* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in the household of the giver. The same word, *tapu*, is applied to a gift to the gods, whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tamayci, a gift of talo to the gods Matalomea and Matalolau, or a gift of fish to a priest, ultimately to be given to a god. These gifts are made to procure the good will of the gods. A *tumbatapu* is a gift made by one lover to another and carries with it the expectation of a return gift. The lovers' gifts thus symbolize a temporary or permanent relationship between the two persons who are attracted to each other (p. 292).

Gifts which are given at birth, wedding, or death celebrations imply a greater degree of compulsion than other gifts. They are termed generically, *mea* (things), and the cultural implication is that they are required of relatives no matter what the personal relations between giver and recipient may be. Other gifts are, culturally, supposed to be free gifts. Whether the gift is free or compulsory, the expectation of return varies only slightly in binding force; the ethical obligation is equally strong.

A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yoosi*, and one of greater value, whether given through excessive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yuuyuu nunui*. To refuse to accept a gift is termed *pa tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *atonui*, the mean or stingy person, *kakionge*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

A marked temporal discontinuity in the gift exchange system occurs in the return of compulsory gifts. Death or marriage gifts may not be returned until an interval of many months or years has elapsed. The giving of the return awaits the occurrence of a life crisis in the household of the original giver, and until this crisis occurs, the debt remains unpaid. There is no such discontinuity in more personal gifts given in less formalized situations. Gifts between lovers or gifts of remembrance evoke immediate return gifts, so that the relation between the two parties to the exchange is defined once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

Owing to lack of contact with outside peoples, trade played no part in native Pukapukan economy. The village copra crops are disposed of today to traders for money, which is divided among all the men, women, and children of the village, to be disposed of according to individual choice.

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no canoes might be beached, nor commoners trespass. The family of the chief bathed at the next break west of the chief's channel. When the chief had finished his bath, he was carried from the water on the upstretched hands of his family retainers to Te Ulu-takapau where he rested under the shade of coconut leaf mats supported by poles. No commoner would intrude on this place. Close by it were made the special divisions (*laukava*) of chiefly feasts. The minor chiefs had similar beaches and reserved places close to their houses in their respective villages. When the chief walked abroad for exercise, the people moved away to allow him sole and undisputed right to the road.

Besides his family, those most in contact with the chief were his subordinate chiefs, his executive (*wola*), and his attendant (*toa*). This last functionary appears to have been a combination of personal servant, bodyguard, and general executive for the chief. He belonged to the lineage of the chief. He was referred to as *te talatala no te aliki* (the talker of the chief) and generally acted as the chief's agent in calling meetings, carrying messages, arranging food divisions, and like matters.

There was no chiefly language in Pukapuka, no word used only by those of chiefly rank, or by commoners in addressing the chief. Only a special salutation was used for the chief and for his children, who were greeted: "E vale e . . . " without using the chief's name. By transfer, when one commoner wished to use an extremely polite greeting to another, he used *te vale*, as "Na yau ko koe, te vale, nei" (You have come, o *vale*). Such a polite form of greeting is termed *wakakouvale*.

Besides these various tapus, all the major chiefs were priests by virtue of rank. This prerogative was shared also by the executives (*wola*) of these chiefs. In those lineages where there was no chief, only the priest might go to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and consult the gods. In the chiefly lineages—Tua, Matanga, Muliwutu, and Yalongo—priests, chiefs, and executives could all go on the sacred enclosure without violating its sanctity. The division of functions was such that the priest consulted the gods on intra-lineage matters, the chiefs and the executives on matters affecting the island as a whole or the relation of the lineage to other lineages.

SACRED MAID

A final symbol of the status of the chief and of the chiefly lineage was the pattern of appointing a *mayakitanga* (sacred maid). (Cf. *mehekitanga*, the Tongan kinship term applied to father's sister.) Either the first-born female child of the chief or another girl of the chief's lineage was chosen for this purely honorific office. Generally she was supposed to be the most beautiful girl of the lineage. Chosen at the age of about ten years,

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she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite. From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *te wale ya o te mayahitanga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of a *mayahitanga* was described as follows:

The sacred maid wore a pandanus kilt dyed red with the juice of *wele* berries, a headband of *wele* bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and hands. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yoki yokio", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "Ui", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*una*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*tahua te vai*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:

Kia[1] wai mali wanu	Let the clusters of nuts be full (?)
Kia wowolo te wawa	Let the talo tubers grow big
Kia tautongatunga	(Addressing the *mayahitanga*) Beckon to the god (that he may answer this request)
Kia matolu te ika	Let the fish be numerous
Kia pi ki te tai	Let (feces) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten)
Ke ako te wenua	Until the land stinks
Kava ye te tangata	Countless the feasts for the people

After this prayer, the *mayahitanga* was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Koa tauyala wua koe ki nua" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

The *mayahitanga* was guarded by old female relatives (*leoni* or *tauta*). She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the *iotua* part of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as *tualou*; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her duennas.

The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place Matala, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their cemeteries. From the residence of the *mayahitanga* to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yionga ala* (not to be confused with *yionga mauli*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was tapu to commoners save at times once every two or three months when the maid walked on it to show herself (*tuhayowi*) to the populace. Then the commoners

[1] *Kia*, an archaic particle used in proffering requests to the god.

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857 I have no data on how the child begins to talk. Old women say that the first words
195 that the child utters are "epe epe" (meaningless). It was noticed that children learning to talk tended to repeat words, phrases and sentences used by older children in their presence. Baby talk is never used by adults when speaking to an infant or child. Mothers could give no vocabulary of words generally mispronounced by children in their efforts to speak, and none was noticed. The only abbreviation that mothers could think of was the word "tiko" instead of "titiko" (defecate).

854 The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific functions to perform. He is no less sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, and cares for the child whenever it is necessary or convenient. There is no antagonism or conflict between the two parents as to the care of the child, which is looked upon as belonging equally to both parents who harmoniously tend its needs. Older siblings take care of the child only when the parents are absent and then only for short periods.

Weaning

862 Careful analysis shows that there are two types of treatment in the weaning of the child:

The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if her milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant while the child is still feeding at the breast. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care, and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually father's sister or mother's mother. This process is called *wakamota* (to break off). It is complete and absolute. The feeding parent nurses the child day and night, feeding it coconut water from a coconut shell, or grated coconut flesh and grated talo. She carries the child about most of the night, which is considered the most difficult time to keep the child pacified. Mothers say that this weaning process takes a week in the case of the most easily weaned child and as much as two weeks in the case of a fretful or difficult child. Whatever the length of time, the child is kept completely separated from its mother.

862 The second method of weaning is a more gradual process. The child is taken to
856 feeding parents in another village and left with them for a day at a time. It is fed coconut and talo. The feeding parents fondle it and try to keep it happy and satisfied
866 without its mother. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and talo before giving the breast. By the end of these months the child is walking, and is encouraged to identify itself with the activities of its siblings, to play away from its mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give it the breast at its demand, so that finally weaning is accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods gradually assume an importance in the child's mind, the food gaining status and prestige through being associated with a group of elders with which the child definitely wishes to be identified. It is probable that hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome also for the child by ridicule directed toward it by his elders.

Education

871 Formal education of the child is markedly absent in Pukapuka today as
878 formerly. There was no institution comparable to the "house of learning" of other Polynesian communities, nor was there a dichotomy of education, formal or informal, based on class distinctions. All the child needs to know

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informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kalokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nai*, *uetou*, *koupua*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*uui ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*uuinga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o nuku kakala*) to tame her spirit (*uakalata i tona mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pala* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations between the sexes, and in the love chants (*kupu*) the composer is always at pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the *wakaaga* tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tinea* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (*eat*). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

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abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngayu* bush or *kotavu* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other, the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

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805 Koa taupale te la: the sun is lower.
Koa to te la: the sun falls.
Koa ngoto te la: the sun sinks.
Koa mamalu te po: dusk.
Koa yeyengi te po: the night begins to darken.
Koa po te po: the night is dark.
Te pouli: complete darkness.
Te pouli kelekele: black night.
Te pouli mata newu: dark when stars are dim.
Koa vaeua te po: the night is divided into two.
Koa vave te po: the night is finishing.
Koa vave ki ao: dawn quickens.
Te ulu o te ata matua: darkness before dawn.

Where it is necessary to be more accurate in naming the time at sunrise, as in making arrangements for fishing parties to leave the villages, one of the following descriptive names is used:

Koa wenake te ulu ata matua: the first white shadows appear.
Koa wenake te ata kena: white shadows grow, the gray dawn.
Koa wenake te ata maoa: there is more light in the sky.
Koa kitea te kili o te tangata: it is light enough to see the color of a man's skin.
Koa wenake te ata kula: there is red light in the sky, red dawn.

For ordinary purposes, only general reference is made to one of the major divisions of the day: *te taeyao* (morning), *te tutonunga la* (midday), *te taupalonga la* (afternoon), *te auiaui* (evening or dusk), *te po* (night).

195 Four idiomatic expressions are commonly used to refer to ancient times or happenings of long ago. They are: *no te vaia o Mawu, no te vaia o Lotanga, no te vaia o Uihili, no te vaia o te tuiweke.* The word *vaia* means "time" or "age". The last expression refers specifically to the time when the land was rising from below the sea, to the time of the "octopus of the sea", by transfer, to very ancient periods. The proper names in the remaining three expressions probably refer to early ancestors, perhaps to early and forgotten generation levels. No history is remembered about the names themselves, but the expressions are used in stories or conversation to give greater emphasis and vividness to narratives of olden times. Seasons and six-moon periods (*takalonga*) have been discussed (p. 24).

805 [177] Pukapukan informants today name 31 nights of the moon. As in western Polynesia, the names are descriptive, not proper names. Native custom elsewhere commonly names 29 or 30 nights, usually 30. It is possible that the Pukapukans have added an extra descriptive term to bring an old list of names into conformity with European practice. No names are remembered for the succession of moons throughout the year. Pau states that formerly the Pukapukans had names for 13 moons, but that these have been forgotten today. He suggested that some untranslatable words in old chants may

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Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the com-
533 posing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of
[195] story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation.
538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa!" expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

533 phrases or long developmental sequences. The total number of
195 chants remembered today in Pukapuka must run to several thousand. Some two hundred of these were recorded for us by natives, notably, Talainga of Ngake village. This explains the weighting of chants from Ngake in the following selection. Of those collected, a random selection was made for the first 25 chants translated, the remainder were selected to illustrate chant types. In the time available it was possible to translate with informants only fifty chants. From the nature of the
[126] symbolisms and cryptic expressions present in each and every chant, it would be presumptuous to attempt further translations of textual material at hand without the controls exercised by the presence of a few of the best of the informants and their interpretations of obscure passages and symbolisms. It is to be clearly understood that all explanations in the following translations are presented just as they were given by informants

Vowel changes occur in certain words in all the chants. These have been recorded only in the chant of the pinga type: Na ulu toku manako and illustrate the type of change preferred. The tendency is to eliminate diphthongs, thus achieving a more even flow of sound, and to reduce, by elision or alteration of the vowel sounds, the total chant to a general pattern of sound. Thus in the pinga mentioned, the general sound pattern of vowels is u; and in consonance with this, "te ulu" is reduced to "tulu," the first vowel being long. Besides the changes occurring in the pinga, the following changes are also common:

The prefix waka	becomes	aka	na	becomes	nu
au	"	u	yau	"	yu
mai	"	mi	yau	"	yo
tai	"	ti	kakai	"	kakayi and kaki
tau	"	tu	totoi	"	totoyi
nei	"	ni	tautapa	"	tutapa
ai	"	i	lelei	"	leli
kai	"	ki	lelei	"	lele
pau	"	pu	aumai	"	umi
lau	"	lu	kalou	"	kalu
te	"	tu	peleua	"	pelua
wainga	"	winga			

128 Technical difficulties of translation aside, the further problem
533 arises of the form in which the chants should be presented, that
192 is, whether the translation should be literal or free. A literal translation is the best possible introduction to the ideals of Pukapukan culture, but it may lead the reader astray unless he realizes fully that the weighting of words and concepts is entirel